## HISTORY VINDICATED:

TO THE HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS ON HIS "HARPER" ESSAY.

MR. SENATOR: Your late magazine article on "Popular Sovereignty in the Territories" has already received adequate attention. That it has failed to conciliate opponents, but has rather increased their number and confirmed their resolubien, is now evident. It has had this result both at the North and and at the South, and for a very intelligible resson. Most of the American People who have any purpose whatever, earnestly desire either that Slavery should or that it should not be enabled to diffuse itself through the Federal Territories, growing with the growth and being strengthened with the strength of the American Republic. Very few are indifferent to this overabadowing issue; few except professional politicians even affect to be. You preach, therefore, the gospel of indifference, of negation, of impotence, to mainly anwilling ears. I cannot feel, in reading your beubration, that you believe it yourself. Think me not uncharitable, but answer to yourself this question : Suppose you were officially apprised that a majority of the Squatter Sovereigns of one of our Territories-we will say Utah, for examplehad voted that the minority should be reduced to and held in Slavery for the benefit and in the service of such majority, and had proceeded to enferce that determination by fire and swordwould you, as a Senator, hesitate to decide and declare that this rapacious, iniquitous purpose must be resisted and defeated by the power of the Federal Government? I know you would not. You would, in that case, inevitably recognize and affirm the duty of Congress to maintain Justice in the Territories-to protect every innocent man in the peaceful enjoyment of the fair rewards of his own industry, and in the possession and enjoyment of Liberty, Family, and honestly acquired Property. The matter is too plain for argument, too certain for doubt. If then, you uphold the right of some men to hold others as slaves in the Territories, you do it on the assumption that those ought to be masters and these slaves-that the Slave laws of Virginia or Texas have rightful force and effect in Kansas or New-Mexico-or on some other ground than the naked assumption of " Pop-"ular Sovereignty" in the Territories. That, you must allow me to tell you, is but a politician's dodge, devised in 1848 by Gen. Cass, under the spur of a pressing danger, an urgent necessity, and only accepted by those who discern in it a means of escape from similar perils-a handy neckyoke to enable them to carry water on both shoulders. The Sovereignty you defer to is that of a political necessity, not that of the People of the Territories.

But I do not propose to traverse all the logical subtleties and hair-splitting distinctions of your late elaborate essay. I did, indeed, at one time cherish a strong desire to reply to it at length through the pages of the magazine which gave it to the world; but, on intimating that purpose to its editor, I was denied a hearing in his columns, though it was graciously intimated that a similar demand from one of " the leading Republicans" might perhaps be favorably considered. Of course, that puts me out of court; but whom does it let in ? I cannot tell. Republicans are rather unused to being led; hence a natural scarcity of Republican leaders. Gov. Seward, to whom you seem willing to accord the character of a leader, is known to be absent in Europe, and not likely to return for two months yet; so is Mr. Sumner; other "leading Republicans" are hardly within easy reach of the documents essential to your systematic refutation. Yet it seems to me important that your misstatements of fact should be clearly exposed, even though the task should devolve on one so far from being a leader. Though the pages of Harper are shut against me, and those who have read your monstrous perversions of Hisbory will never see their exposure, I am impelled to undertake the task, confining myself strictly to the historical features of your essay.

Your fundamental proposition is this: The genius and spirit of our free institutions plainly require that the people of a Territory should be enabled and encouraged to establish and maintain Human Slavery on the soil of such Territory, if they see fit. The Republicans deny this, insisting that no Geverament has any right to deprive innocent human beings of their liberty, accounting and holding them the mere chattels of others. They deny the right of any Territorial Government to establish or uphold such Slavery, insisting that Congress is in duty bound to prohibit and prevent any such injustice and mischief in the Territories which are the common domain of the whole American People. On this main question, we are utterly, irreconcilsbly at variance. I do not propose to argue it, nor to review your arguments upon it. But you proeeed to assert, and to make history uphold your assertion, that your doctrine is that of the Revolutionary Fathers-that the Revolution was made in its behalf-that it was paramount in the earlier and purer days of the Republic. On this point I take issue, and appeal to the indubitable records. Here is their testimony:

The IXth Continental Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, assembled at Philadelphis, Nov. 3, 1783, but adjourned next day to Annapolis, Md., where it was to have reconvened on the 26th, but a quorum was not obtained until Dec. 13th, and the attendance continued so meager that no important business was taken up until Jan. 13th. 1784. The Treaty of Independence and Peace with Great Britain was unanimously ratified on the 14th-nine States represented. The House was soon left without a quorum, and so continued most of the time-of course, doing no business-till the 1st of March, when the delegates from Virginia, in pursuance of instructions from the Legislature of that State, signed the conditional deed of cession to the Confederation of her claims to territory northwest of the Ohio River. New-York, Connecticut. and Massachusetts had already made similar con cessions to the Confederation of their respective claims to territory westward of their present limits. Congress hereupon appointed Mesers. Jefferson of Virginia, Chase of Maryland, and Howell of Rhode Island, a Select Com mittee to report a Plan of Government for the Western Territory. This plan, drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, provided for the government of all the Western Territory, including that portion which had not yet been, but which, it was reasonsbly expected, would be, surrendered to the Confederation by the States of North Carolina and Georgia (and which now forms the States of Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi), as well as that which had already been conceded by the more northern States. All this territory, acquired and as yet unacquired, Mr. Jefferson and his associates on this Select Committee proposed to divide into seventeen prospective or new (embryo) States, to each of which

the Report gave a rame, eight of them being situated below the parallel of the Falls of Ohio (Louisville, Ky.), and nine above that parallelwhich is very nearly the boundary between the present Free and Slave States. To all these embryo or new States, the Committee proposed to apply this restriction:

That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there "That after the year low of the Cornana era, tame chall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the said party shall have been convicted to be personally guilty."

April 19, this reported plan came up for consideration in Congress. Mr. Spright of N. C. moved that the above-quoted passage be stricken out of the plan or ordinance, and Mr. Read of S. C. seconded the motion. The question was put in this form: "Shall the words moved to be stricken "out stand !" and on this question the Ays and

Note were teren,	and resumed as follows.
N. HAMPSHIRE	Mr. Blanchard
MASSACRUSETTS	Mr. Getry
RHODE ISLAND	Mr. Ellery
CONNECTICUT	Mr. Sherman
NEW YORK	Mr. De Witt
New-Jersey	Mr. Paine
PENNSYL VANIA	Mr. Montgamery
MARYLAND	Mr. Handby)Mr. McHenrybo} No.
VIRGINIA	Mr. Stone
	Mr. Hardy
N. CAROLINA	Mr. Spaight
S. CAROLINA	Mr. Beresford
*No quorum-	

Here we find the votes sixteen in favor of Mr. Jefferson's restriction to barely seven against it, and the States divided six in favor to three against it. But the Articles of Confederation (Art. IX.) required an affirmative vote of a majority of all the States-that is, a vote of seven States-to carry a proposition; so this clause was defeated through the absence of one delegate from New-Jersey, in spite of a vote of more than two to one in its favor. Had the New-Jersey delegation been full, it must, to a moral certainty, have prevailed; had Delaware been then represented, it would probably have carried, even without New-Jersey. Yet it is of this vote, so given and recorded, but by you suppressed, that you say, in your account of the action of Congress on the bill, after amplifying on the ordinance as it passed, and claiming it as an indorsement of your views:

"The fifth article, which relates to the prohibition of Blavery after the year 1888, having been rejected by Congress, never became a part of the Jeffersonian Plan of Government for the Territories, as adopted April 25, 1884."

-Is this a statesman's reading of American History for the instruction and guidance of his countrymen? It certainly reminds me strongly of a blackleg turning up the knave from the bottom or middle of his pack as though it came from the top. Who could not prove anything he wished by such unscrupulous manipulation of his authorities ?

-But there is no denying the fact that the last Continental Congress-that of 1787-did unanimously pass Nathan Dane's Ordinance for the Government of the Territory North-west of the Ohio, whereby Slavery is peremptorily excluded from said Territory in the following terms:

"There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Ferritory, otherwise than in pun-ishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall be duly

How do you get slong with this? I will quote your very words. You are seeming to argue that by the term "States," or "new States," the Congress of that day often implied what we now designate as Territories, and you say:

"The word 'States' is used in the same sense in the Ordinance of the 18th July, 1787, for the government of the territory north west of the River Ohlo, which was passed by the remmant of the Courses of the Confederation, atting in New-York while it must emilient members were at Philadelphia, as delegates to the Federal Convention, sliding in the formation of the Constitution of the United States."

-Let us see about this: You give us your bare word for this belittling and setting aside of the Congress of 1787, as a mere "remnant." There may be those with whom your assertion suffices, but I prefer to look at the record.

The Ordinance of 1787 just referred to, and containing the inhibition of Slavery quoted above, passed Congress on the 13th of July; and, on recurring to the journals, I find the vote on its passage

recorded as follows:		
MASSACHUSETTS	Ir. Holten	du.
N		
	(r. Smith	
)	fr. Haringay	Ay.
3	(r. Yates)	
NEW JERSEY	dr. Clarkdy (	Acres
2	fr. Scheurmanay	
DELAWARE	fr. Kearney	Ac.
,	it. Mitchell	
Virginia Commission of the Com	P. CITAVADD	
	Ir. Richard Henry Lee . ay	18.
	tr. Covingtonay)	
NORTH CAROLINA	ir. Bloubt	40-
	fr. Hawkinsg	
SOUTH CAROLINA	fr. Keanay }	Age
	dr. Hugergy	-
GEORGIA	ir. Feway	Av.
	dr. Raldwin du	

-Here was Virginia and every State south o her represented and voting-voting unanimously Ay. The only negative vote cast came from New-York. It is quite true that New-Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were not represented on this vote; but the first four of them had unanimously voted to sustain Mr. Jefferson's original restriction, and no man can doubt that they would have voted in 1787 as they did in 1784, now that even the Carolinas and Georgia had come over to the support of the policy of Restriction. The members absent from their seats in order to attend the sittings of the Convention at Philadelphia were Rufus King and Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts, William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, Mr. Madison of Virginia, and C. Pinckney of South Carolins, and possibly one or two others whose names I have not detected -for I can find no list of the members of the Congress, save as I pick it up from page to page of the journal as they severally dropped in from day to day. That a few members of this Congress were trans. ferred to seats in the Convention is true; but in no single instance was a State left by such transfer unrepresented in Congress, nor is there a shadow of reason for supposing that the Slavery Inhibition embodied in the glorious Ordinance would have been struck out or modified had no Convention been sitting. What becomes, then, of your sneer

at " the remnant of the Congress ?" -Here, then, we have two distinct declarations by overwhelming unsjorities of the Continental Congress in favor of the principle of Slavery Inhibitionthe first, by more than two to one (though not enough to carry it under the Articles of Confederation) acting under the lead of Thomas Jefferson. backed by such men as Elbridge Gerry and Roger Sherman, assembled directly after the close of the Revolution, and while New-York was still held by a British army; the second, by a vote of eight States to none in the last Confederated or Continental Congress, sitting in New-York simultaneously with the Convention which framed our present Federal Constitution at Philadelphia. Here are two explicit affirmations by the Revolutionary Fathers of the right and duty of Congressional Inhibition of Slavery in the Territories. Can there be any honest doubt as to their views on the subject?

-But the Federal Constitution was framed and adopted: perhaps this sholished or modified the

the presumption is strongly the other way; for the Constitution was framed to strengthen, not weaken, the Federal authority. Let us again consult the

The first Federal Congress convened at New-York, March 4, 1789; of its Members the following had been also Members of the Convention which had just before framed the Federal Consti-

tution: From New Hampshire-John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

Massichuseth-Ebridge Gerry, Caleb Strong.

Connectual-Wm. Sam'i Johnson, Roger Sperman, Oli-

wer Elleworth.

De York-Boffs King.

Derey-Boffs King.

Levey-William Paverson.

Levey-William Paverson.

Levey-Maria, George Clymer, Thomas

Pitts mont.

B. A. Richard Rappet.

Patrickmons.
Patrickers—George Read, Richard Bassett.
Maryland—Daniel Carroll.
Pergusia—James Madison, Jr.
Georgia—William Few, Ahr'm Baldwin.

\*Elected to the Convention from Massachusetts.

-In this first Congress under the Federal Constitution, composed in large measure of the most eminent of the framers of that Constitution, Mr. Fitzeimons of Pennsylvania (himself a member also of the Convention), reported (July 16, '89) a bill to provide for the government of the Territory North West of the Ohio, which was then read a first time: the next day had its second reading. and was committed; on the 20th was considered in Committee of the Whole, reported and engrossed; and on the 21st read a third time and passed without dissent. It was received that day in the Senate, and had its first reading; was read a second time on the 31st; was further considered Aug. 3d; and had its third reading next day, when it passed without a voice raised it. As you do not seem to have heard of this act, allow me to quote it. It is a good deal shorter and sweeter than your Nebraska bill, and refers to the same subject. Here it is:

As Acr to provide for the government of the Tetritory north In order that the ordinance of the United Whereas, In order that the ordinance of the United States, in Congress assembled, for the government of the Territory north-west of the river Ohio, may continue to have full effect, it is requisite that certain provisions be made so as to adapt the same to the present Consti-tution of the United States:

Be iteracted, &c., That in all cases in which, by the Be defined, any information is to be given or com-munication made by the Governor of said Territory to the United States in Congress assembled, or to any or their officers, it shall be ine duty of the said Governor to give such information and to make such communito give such information and to make such communi-cation to the President of the United States: and the cation to the Freement of the United States. And the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint, all officers which by the said ordinance were to have been appointed by the United States in Congress assembled, and all officers so appointed shall be commissioned by him: and in all cases where the United States in Congress assembled, and all officers so appointed shall be commissioned by him: and in all cases where the United States in Congress assembled, such by the said ordinance, recoke gress assembled night, by the said ordinance, revoke any commission, or remove from any office, the Presi-dent is hereby declared to have the same powers of revocation and removal.

§ 2. And le it further enacted, That in case of the death, removal, resignation, or necessary absence, of the Governor of the said Territory, the Secretary thereof shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and required to execute all the powers and perform all the cuties of the Governor, during the vacancy occasioned by the removal, resignation, or necessary absence of the said Governor.
Approved Aug. 7, 1789.

-Are you reading, Mr. Senstor! Here is the act passed by the first Congress under the Federal Constitution-James Madison, Roger Sherman, Rufus King, Elbridge Gerry, John Langdon, Robert Morris, and other eminent members of the Constitutional Convention being also members of this Congress-to give full effect to the Ordinance of '87 and to adapt it to the Federal Constitution-not one voice being raised from any quarter against either the avowed purpose or the especial provisions of the act. Do you doubt that Washington, Madison, Gerry, Sherman, &c., understood the Constitution which they had framed scarcely two years before? This, at least, was no "remnant of Corgress." Its members were not absent from their seats concocting a new Constitution. Why, then, in giving what purports to be a history of the action of Congress on this subject, do you ignore them and their act of '89? Are they beyond even your power of manipulation ?

Yet once more, and I leave you to your reflections. The matter on which we are at variance is po vague abstraction but a grave practicality. Indiana Territory, embracing the State you now represent, and all else between the Ohio and the Mississippi except the State of Ohio, early evinced dissatisfaction with the Slavery Inhibition embodied in the Ordinance of '87 and kept in force under the act of '89. Her former settlers were nearly all immigrants from Slave States, and they hankered after pegroes. They held a Convention in 1802-Gen. Harrison, their Governor, presiding-and memorialized Congress in favor of a temporary removal of the Slavery Inhibition. That memorial was presented to the Congress of 1802-3, Mr. Jefferson being then President, and Congress largely Republican. It was referred by the House to a Select Committee of three, two of them from the Slave States, John Randolph being Chairman. March 2, 1803, Mr. Randolph presented their unsnimous Report, denying the prayer of the petioners, and saying that

"The Committee deem it highly dargerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to pro-mote the happiness and prosperity of the north-western country, &c., &c.

Congress thought so, too, and refrained from

apy action on the subject.

The next year, the memorial aforesaid was referred to a new Committee-Casar Rodney of Del, Chairman-who (Feb. 17, 1804) reported in favor of the prayer of the petitioners. No use: the House took no action on the subject Feb. 14. 1806, another Report was made-this time by Mr. Garnett of Va .- in favor of the temporary suspension prayed for; but Congress persisted in its policy of non-action. Feb. 12, 1807, a third Report was made-by Mr. Parke (Delegate) of Indiana-in favor of letting the squatter sovereigns of Indiana Territory have liberty to hold slaves therein for a limited term; but Congress still declined to take the subject up for consideration. Finally, a memorial of the Territorial Legislature of Indiana, asking permission to import and temporarily hold slaves, was submitted, Jan. 21, 1807, to the Senate, by which it was referred (Nov. 7) to a Select Committee, of which Mr. Franklin of N. C. was Chairman, who reported (Nov. 13) that "it is not expedient" to let up on the Slavery Restriction; and there the subject rested foreverthe Indiana sovereigns having by this time become sick or ashamed of their negro-begging.-Why is it, Mr. Douglas, that we find no allusion to these efforts to evade or subvert the Ordinance of '87, and their uniform failure, in your resume of the history of this subject? Why but because the facts are at deadly feud with your theory, and prove it the novel hereey it truly is? There were statesmen in Congress in 1802-7 who would gladly have procured a repeal or suspension of the Ordinance of '87, so far as it forbade the Extension of Slavery; there was not one-so far as I can discover-who denied the right of Congress to preclude such Extension. The doctrine which devices to Congress the right to inhibit Slavery in the Territories had its origin in the perplexities of a Presidential aspirant no longer ago than 1848. When

exercised by the Continental Congress. Certainly, will die the death of the humbugs, and be buried in their open grave.

You speak of the antagonistic doctrine which confides the guardianship of Impartial Freedom in the Territories of the United States to the whole people as represented in the Congress of the United States rather than to the few thousands of their number who first gain a footing on these Territories as strife-breeding, feud-inciting, as between diverse sections of the Union. History does not sustain that imputation. The Ordinance of '87 and the Missouri Restriction successively secured to the country long terms of comparative rest from Slavery sgitation. The Nebrasks bill has given us -what you see. It has distracted not merely the country but the Democratic party. Even you give three several interpretations of the spirit and drift of that act, and of the "Popular Sovereignty" which it embodies, as held by different sections of that party. Mr. Senater! allow me to say in conclusion that of these diverse interpretations your seems to me the most unsatisfactory and irritating. I comprehend, I regard with a certain respect, the Fire-eater who tells me-" The Constitution guarantees me the right of taking slaves into the Territories and holding them there: I demand of Congress such legislation as will render that right impregnable;" I trust he comprehends and respects me when I re spend: "The Constitution gives you no right to carry Slavery into the Territories; wherefore I shall endeavor to keep it out, and will favor no such legislation as you require; " but how can either of us respect you-how can you respect your self-when you say in effect: "True, you slave "holders have a right to fill the Territories with your slaves; but the squatter sovereigns may nullify that right by 'unfriendly legislation,' and you are without remedy." Mr. Senator! whenever I realize that the slaveholders have a constitutional right to carry their human chattels into the Territories and hold them there, I will respect that right in its legitimate scope and spirit, and not attempt to whittle it away, as you do in your comments on the Dred Scott decision. The topic is a grave one; the time is earnest; the People intent on facts, and in no mood to be amused or cajoled by mere words. I think you misconceive alike topic, time and people, to your own serious damage.
Yours, HORACE GREELEY.

FROM THE PIKE'S PEAK GOLD REGIONS.

WAS MR. GREELEY REALLY IMPOSED UPON ! Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

DENVER CITY, Sept. 23, 1859. The universal Yankee nation is distinguished in many respects. It enjoys the just reputation of being the most sensible, happy, and enterprising congregation of human beings on the globe. It has, however, also the less enviable renown of fairly abounding with anomalies, idiosyncracies, illusions, and delusions. Its political, social, religious, and scientific spheres are replete with eccentricities. It manifests a constant tendency to make off at a tangent. It rejoices in extremes—and, as these are said to meet, it is not to be wondered to find Anglo-Americanism, in its various revelations, at times the object of universal admiration and pride, and sgain productive of a universal sneer, and the sin-cere conviction that the race of fools has as yet ailed to become entirely extinct.

The latest and most striking illustration of this peculiarity of the intellectual constitution of the Arglo-American people is probably furnished by the denouément of the grand drama—made up of both comical and tragical elements—that is comprised under the popular, or rather notorious, silit-

ation, "Pike's Peak." Was there, indeed, from the times of Peter Stuy-vesant to the day on which James Buchanan fore-swore his Presidential aspirations, ever anything that could be fairly likened unto the divers phase of the above subject ! Was there ever a like alter nation of ups and downs of the barometer of public opinion-a like succession of diametrically opposite popular notions-s like fluctuation of judgment-s hke sequence of praise and denunciation, lies and truths, hopes and disappointments?

The writer has plunged headlong into the depth the past, he has stretched his cerebral nerves to the utmost, and yet failed to secure a perfect the atmost, and yet laned to secure a period winnie. An approximatively correct one was all he was able to squeeze out. The Stock Exchange, with its human peculiarities, alone affords something like a certium comparationes. The "Peak"—that majestic monument of human folly and avidity -bas, like the former, its "Bulls" and "Bears. One day the former have occasion to indu triumphant roar: the next the latter think themselves justified in bursting forth in a derogatory To-day Pike's Peak commands a premiuu growi as high as the United States Treasury notes: to morrow it is treated with a contempt as radical a that bestowed in Wall street on Erie. Now its brow appears to shine in golden refulgence, and to radiate hopes of intense brightness to the suscepti ble beholder; presently the apparent splendor sub sides into unmitigated dimness—hope is superseded by disappointment, and the frigid forms of the Peak appear to encircle but a vale of the bitterest woe; be short, under the caption of " Pike's Peak" a concentration of public fickleness and freakishness, of private want of forethought, recklessness of action, and failacy of conclusion is embraced, that has perhaps never had its counterpart, and is not

The early scenes of the Pike's Peak drams are yet fresh in the memory of the readers of THE TRIBUNE. They will remember how an excitemen was gradually created, artificially and otherwise, with regard to the alleged discoveries of extensive deposits of gold in and about Cherry Creek and other tributaries of the South Platte; how thou sands and tens of thousands became stricken with the gold fever and abandoned their homes and everything else to join in the eager rush for the sup posed Dorado: how, up to the ides of May, hard ships and privations, physical and moral depres sion, and in many instances, outright misery, were the only lot of the gold hunters. They will furthe remember that the disastrous news that reached the States from the scene of the sad experience of so many, produced a panic among those that were already on the way to the supposed land of gold, or about embarking for it, and a premature but pro found and rather excusable disbelief in everything pertaining to the "greatest humbug of the age"—

the pricked Pike's Peak bubble. These recollections will also enable them, to re call the event with which the second act of the Pike's Pesk drams opened, viz., the lucky strike of the man Gregory, by which the hopeless, crestfallen, staiving myriads that swarmed over the South Platte Valley, were suddenly electrified and induced to make an invasion of the mountains en masse. They may discern, perhaps, futhermore, in the idst of the past, the effect produced by Gregory's discovery upon the mind of the Eastern public. They may remember the justifiable shrugging o shoulders, shaking of heads, and skeptical contract on of brows with which the news of the certainty of the richness of at least a portion of the moun tains was received by a majority of the former They may yet bear in mind, how welcome amid the many and grievous doubts entertained by the bulk of the people of the East, came the announcement of Mr. Greeley sintention to pay a personal visit to the problematical gold fields, and subject the matter at issue to a thotough sifting. The Senior of the New York Theorem Your Transfer was universally recognized as fully competent to sit in judgment over the controverted question, and a willingness to abide by his decison was expressed in every direction ere he had entered upon the fulfillment of his mission.

Well, Mr. Greeley went, saw, and became convinced Being accustomed not to withhold anything in the way of valuable information from the public, he, in con-junction with two other representatives of the Press, prepared, signed, and caused to be published what was considered a truthful and entirely impartial exposition of the condition of the Gregory mines at the time of his and their personal inspection. And here your con power over Slavery in the Territories cikimed and office-seekers cease to have special need of it, it communications.

That statement, or report, consisted of

1. An enumeration of facts that had partly come
within the signers own observation and partly been
communicated to them by others, and

2. The comments of the authors of the document on
those facts, as well as other matters pertaining to the
mineral and other resources of the gold region, the immigration thitherward, etc.

Prepared, as the statement had been, with a sole
view to allaying the arrisety, and putting an end to the

view to allaying the anxiety, and putting an end to the uncertainty, experienced throughout the Union in reference to the Pike's Peak question, and discouragreference to the Pike's Feak question, and inscounaging rather than otherwise as its general tenor was, it did not in the end meet the reception its originators had expected for it in consideration of its candor and disinterestedness. Its first effect, it is true, came up to their expectations. Soon, however, some journalistic snivelers commenced picking up the stray stories circulated by some unsuccessful misrims to the farcirculated by some unsuccessful pilgrims to the far-famed but not all-enriching Gregory Valley, and making them the basis on which they constructed wise leaders them the basis on which they constructed was leaders, brimtal with their virtuous indignation about the al-leged indorsement of the "most wicked cheat of mod-ern times" on the part of Mr. Greeley and his fellow-signers. Their effusions were duly brought to the noern times on the part of Mr. Greeley and its teams signers. Their effusions were duly brought to the notice of some of the more important journals of the East by virtue of the "law of circulation," that governs the world of periodical literature, and swooped upon by a number of them with the eagerness of birds of prey. Having in most instances some old account, political or otherwise, to settle with Mr. Greeley—the minor journalistic bodies that figured at the end of the report were generally overlooked by them—the above mentioned ill-digested expectorations were a perfect godeend to them. They at once improved tham into regular distribes, and used the welcome opportunity most unstily for a full display of their powers of denunciation and defamation. Malice—wile, regardless malice—was generally interwoven to a prevailing extent with their bitter tirades, the origin of which could be early traced not so much to a desire to vindicate the truth as to the eagerness to take revenge upon cate the truth as to the eagerness to take revenge upon a man that had incurred their harred, either because of his political views or the fear ess exposition of their own pervertedness of purpose and means. Charges preferred against public men are always apt to find some credit among the many though these readers of the press, if not properly repelled, and hence—the assailed head of The Truncus establishment being prevented by absence from conducting its own defense as against the slanderous instructions and direct charges made against him in connection with the statement in question—the writer of this vindication, who happens to know more about the matter than any other person now in the gold regions, thought it his duty to enter the public arena and put a stop to the incessant clasmor cate the truth as to the eagerness to take revenge up in the gold regions, thought it his duty sublic arena and put a stop to the incessar the public arena and put a stop to the incessast clamor about the alleged deceptions practiced upon Mr. Gree-ley during his stay in the Gregory mines, by placing before that most intelligent and impartial tribuoal, the teaders of The Tribuxe, the evidence subjoined fur-ther below in support of the correctness of the facts and figures adduced in the much abused report.

Before doing this, the writer proposes, however, to flude first to the sources from which the said charges It is a common experience that he who contemplates

en and things with the eye of blind faith, or precon ceived disbelief or disappointment, it not apt to them properly reflected in his organ of mental v He perceives reality either wrapped in the roseate of expectation, or colored with the dark has of his own inward disposition. Persons that, after going through the severest of preliminary trial—a journey of nearly seven hundred miles across a desert-like wilderness seven hundred inless across a desertina whateress-found themselves obliged to submit to continued en-durance of every description, and to experience ulti-mate failure instead of realizing their hopes and wishes by amassing speedy wealth, will hardly be apt to judge in partially of the scene of their misfortune. They are in most instances inclined to see everything in the light of their own experience—to draw from it wrongful conlusiers as to that of others-to exaggerate whenever dwelling upon the cause of their want of success—to generalize instead of individualizing—in fine, to forego the exercise of due discretion, and color truth regard-This class furnishes, however, but a portion of the

less of reality.

This class furnishes, however, but a portion of the material on which the false indistanent rests. Among the mass of unkless Pike's Peakers there are others that are pervaded by an outright spirit of vengeance upon the country which they consider the first and last cause of all their losses, sufferings, and foiled hopes, and they manifest it by heaping denunciation and misrepresentation upon it without stint or mercy. The writer has himself met dozens of unsuccessful gold hunters that were reduced to so intense a morbidness of feeling with regard to everything pertaining to the deceitful land of gold, that it was absolutely ampossible to exact from them the recognition of even the most stubborn and undeniable of facts. In the face of a tun of solid gold they would have sworn that it was either brass or imported for purposes of deception from either California or Mexico. Had the gold nuggets been as plentiful as pebbles on their road, they would have contended that it was all a cheat and a swindle. Conviction was beyond all question with them. Certificates of the United States Mints, with halt a dozen impressions of the broad Federal seal, would have produced no more effect upon them than a blank piece of paper. They did not wish to be convinced, and offered the most desperate resistance to arguments and even ocular demonstration of the most striking character. striking character.

Among the victims of the "Peak" there are still Among the victims of the "reak there are still others—"lazy lonts," as Mr. Greeley very pointedly denominates them—that, although without any cause of complaint on account of their ill-success beyond their own destination of energy and power of endurance, and their unconquerable penchant for an idle, thriftless life, t join in the outcry of their fellow-martyrs to the rtiality and fickleness of fortune, and generally out-mor all others in vehemence and senselessness of derogation.

The above-sketched three species of unsuccessful and returned Pike's Peakers generally constitute the au-thorities quited by cross-road oracles and editorial wiseacres in their derogatory harping on Mr. Greeley s report. As soon as the several representatives of the former had reached the Missouri River, they were generally set upon by the editors of the numerous papers published in the different river towns, and whatever eraily set upon by the editors of the numerous papers published in the different river towns, and whatever tale they had to tell given to the public as the "latest "and most reliable intelligence from Pike's Peak." If they happen to pass the aforesaid towns "unpumped," they are, as a rule, induced to rush into print as seen as they reach their former homes, by the managers of the local Press. From the papers in which the stories are originally published, they never fall to be transferred to others, in consequence of the eagerness with which editors strive to satisfy the avidity of their readers for "Pike's Peak news," and they are soon engaged upon making the "rounds." they are soon engaged upon making the "rounds," startling the public by their direness, and obtaining credence by the comments which generally accompany them upon their passage through the various papers

The writer is far from disputing the propriety and necessity of throwing the greatest possible amount of light on any subject of public interest, by giving publicity to whatever is apt to further that object. He further has no objection whatever to offer to a fair hearing of both sides to each and every question of public bearing. But he takes the liberty of protesting, or the other last, against the utter want of discrimon the other hard, against the utter want of discrim-nation manifested by both Western and Eastern editors in the collection and selection of Pike's Peak news. The public wants to be enlightered, but not kept in a The public wants to be enigneted, but hos applies occasion fog produced by the flagrant discrepancies in the accounts from that quarter published from day to day and week to week. If they choose to grace their columns with an olla podrida of Pike's Peak items of the most contradictory character, let them do so, but exercise a little more caution and less liberality in given in the day of the product of the public state of the day of the public state of the public state. exercise a little more cannon and less noeranty in giv-ing it their editorial sanction. It will not do for them to receive any returned Pike's Peaker in their sanctum, listen to and take down their "apparently straight-ferward" accounts, and parade them in next morning's or Saturday's issue, together with an avalanche of editorial comments of an approbatory nature, without first endeavoring to ascertain something about the motives, disposition, and, especially, social position of the deponents in their former homes, and subjecting their allegations to a logical test. A few well-considered questions would be generally sufficient to attain this and, save the public from being bothered with preconcilable contrarieties, and the respective editors from being imposed upon while endeavoring to expose an alleged imposition.

But to the charges or allegations themselves. It is asserted in the various statements disputing the reliability and correctness of the report of Mr. Greeley and others on the condition of the Gregory mines in the early part of June:
1. That Mr. Greeley was conducted to the Gregory

valley with a "pomp and circumstance" similar to that displayed upon the journeys of the crowned heads of Europe through their several dominious.

heads of Europe through their several dominions.

2. That the miners of the Gregory valley were duly apprized of the intended visit of the editor of THE TRISTER, and made extensive preparations for the reception of the distinguished visitor.

3. That they entered upon a regular conspiracy to deceive Mr. Greeley, by preconcerted false representations as to the yields of their several claims, and reserting to all kinds of artifices, such as "sating"—as the technical phrase runs—exhibiting the same quantities of gold at different hours of the day, etc., in order to create a more favorable impression, and call forth higher figures in the expected report and

and call forth higher figures in the expected report and letters to THE TRIBUNE The foregoing "counts" contain everything that has been urged in 'the Eastern Press against the claims of the report in controversy to accuracy and credibility, and shall be disposed of by the writer

With regard to the first, he will state that the cortege of Mr. Greeiey consisted of two newspaper correspondents, a representative of the Express Company, and just one miner; that the whole party, with the excepjon of the last mentioned in tividual, were mounted on

Express mules, which looked rather the worse for pull Express mules, which looked rather the worse for pulling the heavy express coaches through the sandy sountry that has to be traveled before reaching Denver from the east, and certainly did not give the expedition the character of a "brilliant cavalcade;" that, although there was not the least shadow of "pemp" beyond some gay-colored blackets and flannel shirts, there was yet a certain display of unusual "circumstance," not on the part, however, of the people of the gold regions, but of Mr. Greeley himself, in the shape of the well-known umbrella, well-shaved chin and upper lip, shawls, collars of irreproachable whiteness, and other outward characteristics of a gentleman "just" from the City of New York."

other outward characteristics of a gentleman "just" other outward characteristics of a gentleman "just" from the City of New York."

The second count rests on as precarious a basis and the first. It is absolutely false that the Gregory miners knew of the arrival of Mr. Greeley in Denver City.

Mr. G. made his advent in the latter place at 10 a. m. on the 6th of June last, and started the next morning for the Gregory mines as soon as day had commenced dawning, and arrived in the diggings shead of all other parties that had left Cherry Creek simultaneously with him; so that it was utterly impossible that the news of his arrival reached the mines in advance of himself. His coming not being known, the alleged preparations for his reception are, of course, out of the question. Mr. Greeley s "incog." was so complete, that, while passing through the valley, before reaching the camping ground, not a single miner left his claim or shines to greet him, although he had, as was afterward shown, a good many personal acquaintances among the mining s good many personal acquaintances among the mining

The writer defies a controversion of any of the faxts above enumerated.

Count No. 3 embraces a whole series of charges, which will, however, be answered in a lump by the following correct, vigorous and instly bitter protest and subsequent affidavits of such of the miners of the Gregory Valley as had been mentioned in the statement of Mr. Greeley and others, and still continue to the highest condensative.

inhabit this good country: A CARD TO THE PUBLIC OF THE UNION.

GREGORY's Discount, Sept., 1839.
The undersigned, miners of the Gregory Valley, having been apprised of the numerous s'anderous reports circulated by a pot-tion of the Eastern press with regard to their doings in this mining district, would submit the following to the people of the East.

It is a base and unmitigated calumny that we have resulted at my time to false representations with regard to the yield of our laims, in order to effect a sale of the same for a consideration, hove what we sincerely supposed to be their fair value, and we remembe all allegations to the contrary by returned gold business He fabrications, based either on a malicious disposition to stanor, or a reckless anxiety to find a plausible excuse for their fall o realize the expectations with which they had embarked from he States—a failure which can be secribed, beyond all doubt in heir instance, to a want of the energy, perseverance and exerience so absolutely necessary in the pursuit of the lab irious

whether we mining business.

We further assert most distinctly and emphasically that the tatement of the yields of our respective claims in the report of Mr. Greeley and others, published in the early part of Jame, was Mr. Greeley and protest most carnestly against the in-situations and even direct charges made in the columns of some Eastern journals against us in connection with Mr. Greeley's visit. We were entirely unacquainted with the intention of that entleman to visit this gold region. He fairly took us by sur, prise, and lit was, therefore, with feelings of mortificaciindignation that we perceived the vituperation beaped upon us for baving entered, as they lyingly assert, upon a regular county of the Gregory mites at the time of this visit. We herewith do nounce this and all similar charges as fool inventions, and all those who either originated or gave currency to them as miserable defamers, deserving the contempt of every honest and truth-loving

The charges have been made. We now call for the evidence. Let our calumniators step, as we do, by don't of this card, before the people of the Union and bring forth the proof of their degrading slanders. We defy them to do so. We know they will be neither able nor willing to meet, we before the intelligent or just tribunal, before which we herewith summon them,

We subjoin our names and former places of residence, so that the record; of our past may be accessible to the public. Let our

accusers do likewise.
In conclusion, we wish to state that all of us have been actively engaged in mining on the vertous quarta-leads which yielded so enormously during the month following their discovery and the stay of Mr. Greeley, but do not at present furnish as satisfactory yields as then, in consequence of the partial disappearance of the crevices, which contained decomposed gold-bearing quarts, and afforded such a rich field for sinicing operations. It being impossible to procure the implements more says for working the rick solid quarts, which remains exclusively at present in a number of the leads that we worked with sluices before, during, and for some time after Mr. Greeley's visit, the gold-crop of the Gregory

some time after Mr. Greeley's visit, the gold-crop of the Gregor Valley has necessarily experienced a diminution.

AR CHIDALD DEFRENS, South Bend, Ind.

J. R. DEVOR, Ednart, Ind.

DAVID P. FOOTE, Chicago, III.

R. SORIS, President Gregory Mining Association, Michigan City, Ind.

ANOS GRITLEY, Lewis, Case County, Iowa.

E. W. HENDERSOS, Lewis, Case County, Iowa.

C. A. ROSKYT, Pekin, III.

J. H. GEST, Chicago, III.

G. T. BURDBAU, Chicago, III.

JOSEPH CASTO, Secretary Gold Mining Association, New-Hartford, Butler County, Ind.

G. GOLDBERG, B. LOUIS, MO.

JOHN SHEAR, FULDER, Washington County, N. T.

With regard to the foregoing comphatic, hold as

With regard to the foregoing emphatic, bold, and

defiant manifesto, your correspondent wishes to remark that all of its signers were members of the twelve companies mentioned in the report of Mr. Greeley and others, and that the document itself is the result of a spontaneous movement, aiming at a vindication of the reputation of its originators for veracity and fairness of dealing generally. Some of the preprietors of claims on the original Gregory and other leads, left for the States with a view to spending the Winter in their former homes, epid rich fruits of their mining operations during this season, before the card was being circulated for signatures. Among these the pioneer Gregory, one of both the Defrees and Zeigler brothers (members of the South Bend, Ind., Company), and Bates of Bates & Co., are

the most prominent.

The subject alluded to in the conclusion of the card, viz.: the giving out of the crevices filled with gold bearing decomposed quartz of some of the leads after Mr. Greeley had left the country, your correspondent proposes to make the subject of a special letter. For the present he will confine himself to state that to this circumstance alone it is due that the predictions of Mr. Greeley with regard to the gold-crop harvested this season in the Gregory Valley are not likely to be realized. The object of this communication being solely to ized. The object of this communication being solely to show that the facts and figures embodied in the report of show that the tacts and figures embodied in the report of the 11th of June last were substantially correct, and that some of the leads of the Gregory Valley actually yielded at the time of Mr. Greeley's vivil at a truly enormous rate, it will suffice to lay the subjoined affi-dayits before the readers of The Trinuxs. They are selected from a large number lately made by Gregory miners. Your correspondent thought it sufficient to give those that embodied the statements of the largest vields, inasmuch reasoning of the simplest kind will lead to the conclusion that where large results are ob-tained, small once are not impossible. tained, small ones are not impossible

STATEMENT OF MESSRE. GRIDLEY AND HENDERSON, formerly of Lewis. Case County, lowe, the parties that bought a Claim of J. H. Gregory for \$21,000.

Amos Gridley and E. W. Henderson, being duly sworn, depose

and say:

We have formerly been residents of Lewis, Cass County, Jows.

We arrived in the gold regions on or about the 15th day of April, and in the Gregory diggings on or about the 17th day of April, 1859. On the 20th day of May, we bought a claim of J. H. Gregory,

Pwts. of a	old.		Pwis. of gol
May 29	117 June	\$	
day 30	175 June	6 7	
		7	7
Argregate yield in 9days In addition to the above	e, we ret	rrted during	that time 7
ennyweights, which amoun lankets for several days.	was obt	AMOS GRI	DLEY,

Sworm to and subscribed before me, the President of the Mners' Association of Greatery diggings this the 18th day of September 18th and 18th day of September 18th and 18th an STATEMENT OF JAS. R. DEVOR, formerly of Elkhart, Ind , with

Statistics of Jan R. Oktob, formerly of Eishart, Ind., with regard to the yield of the daring of the Indiana Company James R. Devor, being duly aworn, deposes and says: I have formerly been a resident of Eikhart, Indiana; I arrived in the pid regions on or about the 12th day of April, and in the Gregory diggings on or about the 20th day of May, 18:9; I was present at the time Messrs, Greeder, Richardson and Villard were in Greeder's diggings, and know that the statement mode to them by Defrees a Co., of South Bend, 1st d., with regard to the yield their calms, was a rounted and accurate amount of each day shirtler. I being present on each consecutive secundor at the time the gold was retorted and weighted.

Sworn to and subscribed before the, the undersigned Presi-

Sworn to and subscribed before me, the undersigned. President of the Miners' Association of the Gregory digglors, this the 18th day of September, A. D. 1829.

R. Sayars.

M. B. Parsey.  m. deposes and tays: I he food, best-Hampchire; I arrive lith day of May, sud in it beginning of June; I bought and, from which I washed: Seworth day

A. D., 1859.

STATEMENT OF JOHN SHEAR.

John Shear, being duly sworm, deposes and says: I have form erly been a resident of the Town of Putasm, in the County of Washington, State of New York. I arrived in the gold region of or about the lat of May, and in the Gregory Valley on or about the 18th of the same mouth. On the day succeeding my arrival bought a claim of Williamon Defrees, on the Gregory lead, for \$7,000. I commenced working it with three states, and obtaining daily yields of different magnitudes. The largest lok-